

Message Text

PAGE 01 NATO 02202 221913Z

42

ACTION ACDA-10

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INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01

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E.O. 11652: GDS

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SUBJECT: POLADS DISCUSSION OF NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY (NPT) ISSUES

GENEVA PASS CCD

REF: A. USNATO 2011

B. USNATO 2105

C. STATE 085195

1. APRIL 22 POLADS NPT DISCUSSION FORCUSED ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY ON FORMULAS RELATED TO NEGATIVE ASSURANCE GUARANTEES (REF A). INTERNATIONAL MILITARY STAFF (IMS) REP (COL FORD-U.S.) REPORT IMS VIEW THAT ALL FOUR EXISTING FORMULAS ARE INCONSISTENT WITH CURRENT NATO STRATEGY. IMS FURTHER CONSIDERED POSSIBLE ESTABLISHMENT OF NUCLEAR FREE ZONES (NFZS) TO BE AGAINST ALLIANCE'S BEST INTERESTS, PARTICULARLY NRZS THAT MIGHT BORDER ON WARSAW PACT.

2. NETHERLANDS REP (HORAK) SAID HIS AUTHORITIES ALSO HAD PROBLEMS WITH

EACH OF FOUR EXISTING NON-USE ASSURANCES FORMULAS. IN ATTEMPT TO BRIDGE GAP BETWEEN PROVIDING INCENTIVES FOR NON-NUCLEAR STATES TO
SECRET

PAGE 02 NATO 02202 221913Z

SIGN AND RATIFY NPT, YET AT SAME TIME IN NO WAY LIMIT NATO STREGTY, THE HAGUE HAD DRAFTED POSSIBLE NEW FORMULATION OF NON-USE ASSURANCES. DUTCH REP STRESSED THAT THIS FORMULA IS ADVANCED ONLY IN ATTEMPT TO DEVELOP ACCEPTABLE WORDING FOR POSSIBLE NON-USE ASSURANCES TEXT,

AND SHOULD NOT BE CONSIDERED AS "DUTCH PROPOSAL". TEXT OF DUTCH FORMULA FOLLOWS:

"AN UNDERTAKING NOT TO USE NUCLEAR WEAPONS AGAINST ANY NON-NUCLEAR-WEAPON STATE UNLESS SUCH A STATE WOULD TAKE PART IN AN ARMED ATTACK INITIATED OR SUPPORTED BY A NUCLEAR-WEAPON STATE".

END TEXT

3. SPEAKING PERSONALLY, ITALIAN REP (FERRETTI) WELCOMED "SUPERIOR" DUTCH FORMULA. HE FEARED, HOWEVER, THAT IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO DETERMINE WHICH PARTY IS ATTACKER AND WHICH IS DEFENDER IN MANY CIRCUMSTANCES. FURTHERMORE, HE WAS CONCERNED THAT ATTEMPT TO CREATE NUCLEAR SANCTUARIES MIGHT WEAKEN BONDS WITHIN THE NORTH ATLANTIC ALLIANCE. HE VISUALIZED, FOR EXAMPLE, A "NAVAL INCIDENT" BETWEEN FRENCH VESSEL AND SOVIET VESSEL AND WONDERED IF UNDER DUTCH FORMULA ITALY MIGHT NOT BE SUBJECT TO NUCLEAR RETALIATION IF ITALIAN NAVAL VESSEL WENT TO ASSISTANCE OF FRENCH.

4. BELGIAN REP (BOUCHARERT), APPARENTLY UNDER INSTRUCTIONS, SAID ONE MUST DRAW DISTINCTION BETWEEN NATO MEMBERS AND NON-MEMBERS. HE POINTED OUT THAT ALLIANCE MEMBERS HAVE "POSITIVE GUARANTEES". SEARCH FOR "MAGIC FORMULA" TO ENTICE NON-MEMBER STATES TO SIGN NPT MUST NOT JEOPARDIZE NATO'S EXISTING POSITIVE GUARANTEES ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

5. UK REP (MARGETSON) SAID LONDON HAD DROPPED EARLIER OPPOSITION TO POLAD'S CONSIDERATION OF THESE ISSUES (REF B). HE REVIEWED HMG'S OBJECTIONS TO EXISTING FOUR NON-USE ASSURANCE FORMULAS AS FOLLOWS:

A) LONDON BELIEVED "BROAD ASSURANCES" FORMULA IS INCOMPATIBLE WITH NATO'S "FLEXIBLE RESPONSE" STRATEGY.

B) UK FEARED SECOND (KOSYGIN) FORMULA MIGHT LEAD TO PRESSURES TO REMOVE EXISTING NUCLEAR WEAPONS FROM PRESENT LOCATIONS, AND IN ANY CASE WOULD CREATE DIFFICULT VERIFICATION PROBLEMS.

SECRET

PAGE 03 NATO 02202 221913Z

C) IN THIRD (CANADIAN) FORMULA LONDON FOUND UNACCEPTABLE VAGUENESS IN DETERMINING WHAT EXACTLY IS MEANT BY THE ALLIANCE. FOR EXAMPLE, HE ASKED, MIGHT EGYPT BE CONSIDERED AS ALLIED TO THE USSR?

D) UK AUTHORITIES SIMPLY DID NOT UNDERSTAND FOURTH FORMULA. HOWEVER, UK REP POINTED TO UK RESERVATION MADE WHEN SIGNING NPT PROTOCOL TWO ON LATIN AMERICAN NFZ. THIS RESOLUTION SAID THAT SHOULD ANY PARTY TO THE PROTOCOL CARRY OUT AN ATTACK WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF A NUCLEAR POWER, THE UK WOULD CONSIDER ITSELF FREE TO RECONSIDER ITS OPTIONS (HE SAID U.S. HAD MADE SIMILAR RESERVATIONS).

6. FRG REP (CITRON) REQUESTED THAT IMS STUDY NEW DUTCH FORMULA FOR

ITS EFFECT ON NATO STRATEGY: FOR EXAMPLE, WHOULD THIS FORMULA
HAMPER NATO'S CAPACITY TO ACT IF NON-NUCLEAR STATE WERE TO INVADE
AUSTRIA?

7. NETHERLANDS REP AGREED WITH SUGGESTION OF IMS STUDY SINCE
DTUCH WANT TO ASSURE THAT ANY FORMULA WHICH MIGHT BE DEvised WILL
NOT LIMIT NATO CAPABILITIES.HE SAID IF IMS CONCLUDES NEW DUTCH
FORMULA LIMITS NATO STRATEGY IN ANY WAY, IT MUST BE REVISED. IMS
UNDERTOOK TO STUDY ISSUE AND TO REPORT VIEWS ON NEW FORMULA TO
POLADS ON APRIL 29.

8. ACTION REQUEST: DUTCH TABLING OF NEW FORMULA, AND FACT THAT
UK AND OTHERS HAVE CASED OPPOSITION TO THIS CONCULTATION, HAVE NOW
INCREASED PACE OF POLADS' DISCUSSION OF NPT ISSUES. HOWEVER, OUR
ALLIES ARE AWARE THAT MEANINGFUL EXCHANGE ON THESE MATTERS IS NOT
POSSIBLE IN ABSENCE OF SOME SUBSTANTIVE U.S. COMMENT. AS POLADS
WILL RETURN TO THIS ISSUE ON APRIL 29, MISSION HOPES WASHINGTON
REVIEW OF U.S. POLICY ON NON-USE ASSURANCES HAS ADVANCED SUFFI-
CIENTLY FOR SOME SUBSTANTIVE GUIDANCE TO BE AVAILABLE BY THAT TIME.
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